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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to describe and interpret the aspirations of young migrant workers living in western Europe, and concludes with proposals for research and for action. It is noted that the study has its limitations, dictated by the subject itself and by the method of work. The method described for collecting data involved the Secretariat of Unesco's request to a number of nongovernmental organizations in nine countries (in Europe) to undertake surveys on various aspects of the situation of young migrant workers, the results of which were compiled. Information is presented in four major sections which are intended to (1) help to bring to light the nature and meaning of the aspirations of young migrant workers, thereby setting up signposts for future research workers; and (2) enable proposals to be framed concerning the action to be undertaken or developed. The four sections cover the people involved, their aspirations, outcome of the analysis, and proposals. References are appended. (WL)

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The aspirations of young migrant workers in western Europe

by Robert de Montvalon

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Preface

This study of the aspirations of young migrant workers in western Europe results from the interest which Unesco takes in the situation of the most underprivileged young people. The problems of migrant workers - their situation, their rights and their aspirations - are among the foremost subjects now giving rise to discussions in a good many countries of Western Europe, as well as in the countries of the origin of those concerned. In embarking upon this study, Unesco's dual aim has been to contribute to this public debate and to elicit answers to many questions which still remain open.

The study was carried out in two stages. The Secretariat of Unesco began by requesting a number of non-governmental organizations to undertake surveys on various aspects of the situation of young migrant workers in several countries. These initial surveys furnished the basic ingredients for the consolidated report which is now placed before the public. The text was drafted by Robert de Montvalon, Doctor of Medicine and a member of the Federation for the Respect of Man and Humanity, whose activities have given him first-hand experience of migrant workers.

The sociologist François Bonvin, of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, in Paris, was kind enough to read the manuscript and suggest a great many corrections and major additions. Furthermore, several highly-qualified specialists were invited to submit their observations on this text.

This publication is intended for all who are concerned with the problems of young migrant workers, i.e. not only the members of governmental and local authorities, but also a much wider public, since these are human problems to which the public at large has become acutely sensitive.

As it stands, this study cannot be regarded as exhaustive or the last word on the subject. Neither can it claim to be rigorously scientific: too many aspects of the problem under review have inevitably been left out, for lack of material and lack of time. It should also be emphasized that the study is primarily the work of the author, even if the surveys which supplied him with raw material were initiated by Unesco, which selected the topics and delegated the practical work to agencies or institutions of its choice.

The analysis of the findings of these surveys, the over-all conception around which the results of this analysis are organized, and the basic premise which informs the entire study, all bear the stamp of the author and do not necessarily correspond to the views of Unesco. Similarly, the proposals which make up the fourth and final part of the publication are put forward by the author on his own responsibility.

The reader may perhaps wonder, in that case, why Unesco is publishing this study. The answer is clear and straightforward: even if this is only an initial approach to a problem which faces us today in an acute form, even if it is only a first attempt at an analysis of a situation brimming with potential conflicts, the general public should be made aware of that situation, its reactions should be provoked, however critical they may be, and discussions should be encouraged which may throw up new opinions and suggestions that will lead the way to a possible solution, the present study marking only the initial stage on that road.

The Youth Division[1] will receive with grateful interest all observations which readers of this text may see fit to send it - since the object of the text is, above all, to stimulate thought.

(1) Youth Division, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75700, Paris.

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NOTE TO THE READER

Appended to this publication is a list of reference documents used for this study. Each document bears an index number which is shown in square brackets in the body of the text wherever the author has deemed it appropriate to indicate his sources, whether for matters of fact or for opinions.

Foreword

A problem seen from outside?

The following study is an attempt to describe and interpret the aspirations of young migrant workers living in western Europe, and concludes with proposals for research and for action.

This study has its limitations, dictated by the subject itself and by the method of work.

The subject is not well-known and is therefore difficult to come to grips with. Literature about migrant workers is, indeed, plentiful; but attention is seldom focused on young people as such and on their aspirations.

The method used here consists neither in an exploration of such literature, nor in an exhaustive field survey. Unesco chose to carry out a number of sample surveys; these surveys, and these alone, provided us with the raw material for our study. Our sources are therefore fragmentary, as the samples involved are small.

What is the point of this study? Firstly, it helps to bring to light the nature and meaning of the aspirations of young migrant workers: signposts have thus been set up for future research workers. Secondly, it enables proposals to be framed concerning the action to be undertaken or developed.

Is the effort worth-while? In our opinion, yes. Some migrant workers are young: they should be "recognized". If these young people are the "vanguard" of the migratory movement, they reveal its significance.

The very fact that this is a plausible hypothesis demonstrates the importance, if not of this study, then at least of its subject. Migration on such a grand scale that it concerns young people, adults, children and old people all together has tremendous implications. For the youngest, the migration will have been the start of a new life. What they do and become will be one of the major results of migration.

However, we do not claim to be able to foretell the future. Of the future of current migrations of workers in Europe, we know nothing with any certainty. Three hypotheses are possible: firstly, as the outcome of economic and political circumstances, the migration of workers will come to an end when those circumstances change; secondly, as a factor in an unprecedented mobilization of nations, which will communicate with one another more and more, the current migration of workers will be followed by many others and absorbed into them; thirdly, as a source of insoluble conflicts, the migration of workers will generate its antithesis and the nations will turn back in on themselves.

But we are less concerned to predict the future than to prepare for it, i.e. to discover which of these outcomes is both the most desirable and the most feasible.

A further observation: the author of the study is not a migrant worker, and the authors of the preliminary reports are not, as a rule, either workers or migrants. Nearly all concerned, therefore, view migrants from the outside. But are they really outside? Is the doctor alone qualified to talk about medicine, the politician about politics, and only the sheep about the wool which is shorn from it? This study expresses a certain way of looking: that of people who consider migrants and migration to be important, because, for them any relationship between members of the human race is important. Moreover, these observers are themselves inside migration, since they are the ones for whom, by whom and among whom the migration occurs. There can be no migration without migrants, nor can there be migration without a society which attracts, takes in and uses those migrants. And no progress can be made in migration unless the members of that society also makes progress, to an equal or greater extent than the migrants.

Far from rejecting this study because its authors are not migrant workers themselves, the reader should accordingly see it as a small sign of progress. Migration results from a relationship; it is a relationship; and it produces a relationship. However violent, unjust and conflict-ridden it may be, it is nevertheless a relationship. The new relations growing up among peoples are a

very real phenomenon which must be accepted, deciphered and organized. We talk nowadays of a new world order, by which we mean that transactions subject to cancellation and short-term arrangements should be replaced by a system in which each individual, while remaining himself, becomes one with other people. When a society which takes in migrant workers ceases to consider them as a labour force to be exploited or an infection to be treated, we shall be on the right road.

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I. The people involved

Little-known facts

All the surveys reveal that little is known about young migrant workers: the statistics concerning them are meagre [1, 2, 4]. From Switzerland comes the observation that the volume of quantitative data predictably increases when "problems" appear, (i.e. too late to be of use). If information is lacking, this is because the special problems of young migrants are not properly "recognized". A vicious circle: little light is shed on the facts in the absence of a clear policy, and there are few clear policies since little light is shed on the facts.

The following tables will call to mind a few significant figures.

Table 1 - **Number of foreign workers admitted to six European countries over the period 1960-1970 (in thousands)**

Country	1960	1970	Average over ten years
Federal Republic of Germany	259	713	555
France	159	174	203
Belgium	3	8**	16
Switzerland	295	267	298
Netherlands	11*	28**	20
Austria	7*	53**	30
Total	716	1,328	1,106

* = 1961 ** = 1969

Source: "Hommes et migrations", Etudes, No. 119, Paris.

Table 2 - **Total migrants in the EEC countries at the beginning of 1973 (in thousands)**

Country	Wage-earning Migrants			Immigrant Population		
	Total	including		Total	including	
		EEC	non-EEC		EEC	non-EEC
Belgium	218.0	121.5	96.5	521.7	326.6	195.1
France	1,210.0	290.0	920.0	3,608.4	732.4	2,876.0
Federal Republic of Germany	2,381.0	584.6	1,796.9	2,839.4(1)	820.2	2,019.2
Italy	43.3	15.7	27.6	149.9	46.2	103.7
Luxembourg	37.5	27.2	10.3	90.9	64.7	26.2
Netherlands	125.6	50.0	75.6	204.0	77.9	126.1
Denmark	36.5	10.8	25.7	54.1	17.5	36.6
Ireland	30.6	30.2	0.4	86.5	84.3	2.2
United Kingdom	1,782.0	400.0	1,382.0	2,579.0	629.0	1,950.0
Total	5,865.0	1,530.0	4,335.0	10,133.9	2,798.8	7,335.1

(1) The latest estimates for the Federal Republic of Germany place the immigrant population figure somewhere between 3.6 and 4 million persons; this figure includes more than 100,000 clandestine immigrant workers.

Source: "Hommes et migrations", Documents, No. 856, Paris.

Two points should be added with regard to France: according to the Institut national d'études démographiques, 9 to 10 per cent of school-age children have a foreign or naturalized father; for the children of manual workers, this proportion attains 15 per cent;

with regard to the distribution of immigrant workers according to age-group in 1971 - excluding

Table 3 · **Foreign population and total population of the EEC countries**

Country	Total population	Foreign population	Percentage
Belgium	9,695,400	521,700	8.00
France	51,487,400	3,608,400	7.00
Fed. Rep. of Germany	61,181,000	2,839,400	4.64
Italy	54,025,200	149,900	0.28
Luxembourg . . .	345,000	90,900	26.35
Netherlands . . .	13,296,000	204,000	1.53
Denmark	4,953,500	54,100	1.09
Ireland	2,944,400	86,500	2.94
United Kingdom . .	55,812,000	2,579,000	4.62
Total	253,739,900	10,133,900	3.99

Source: "Hommes et migrations", Documents, No. 856, Paris.

Algerians - (Source: "Hommes et migrations", Documents, No. 831, Paris), the number of young people under 25 may be estimated at 50 per cent of the total. Although there are major variations according to country of origin, this percentage gives some idea of the considerable numbers involved, if one considers it in conjunction with the figure of 5,865,000 wage-earning migrants in the EEC countries in 1973.

More and more young migrant workers

This is the conclusion drawn by certain observers. One observer [3] speaks of a "marked lowering of the age of migration": 58 per cent of Algerian migrants arriving in France with their Government's permission were under 25 in 1968, as compared with 38 per cent in 1966. This quantitative change cannot fail to have qualitative implications. However, the latter are far from clear. Young migrant workers are a microcosm in which the general characteristics of immigration are reflected, and yet, according to a survey [5. a], they have distinguishing features.

The overtones of language

The World Federation of United Nations Associations [5] wonders whether it would not be advisable to find a substitute for the words "immigrant", "foreign worker" and "guest worker", which, in its opinion, are not neutral. It has not found a "neutral" term. But does a neutral parlance exist? Must we in fact look for one? Must we "neutralize" the migrant, in other words hide the thermometer so as not to reveal the fever? The migrant is a foreigner who is a nuisance because he has had the poor taste to cross frontiers. To deny that he is a foreigner would be absurd. It would also be absurd to deny that he brings changes with him. The aim should be to replace the neutrality of ostensibly homogeneous societies with the organization of societies rendered heterogeneous by international movements of individuals. It is not a matter of denying the foreignness of the foreigner, but of recognizing the fact that he is a neighbour.

He is a neighbour not only in physical terms, but also because his experience can be compared with that of the native. When men and societies see themselves increasingly as relative to one another, each discovers that he is a stranger to himself. No one can define himself in isolation. Our societies are perhaps faced with a decisive choice: to open up to one another or else to die - or at least wither away. This is a disturbing choice, after long years of cultural self-sufficiency, under the flag of the "nation state" which has been the only source of law, unless one counts a vague jus gentium, which is supposed to apply to everyone, and a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whose force is primarily moral.

Several categories of young migrant workers

A detailed study would have to take account of this diversity, since the aspirations of young people vary according to the form which their migration takes.

Some young people arrive alone; others accompany their families. The latter are under a twofold constraint, since the need for the migration of the head of the family entails a second need, for their own migration [4].

Some yield to political necessity: they are escaping from a régime which oppresses them, individually or collectively. Some of these may be deserters from the armed forces, others avowed or clandestine political refugees (this has been true of many Portuguese).

Some young people have not done their military service in their country of origin; this is often true in particular of those who depart with their families. If they go home to fulfil their legal obligations, they may be prevented from returning to join their relatives; this happens to young Turks, who are then placed at the bottom of a long list of candidates for emigration [4].

Some immigrants are "more immigrant" than others. Thus, in the United Kingdom, Poles, Irish and Germans are more easily assimilated by the natives than are Indians, Pakistanis and West Indians [7].

Among the young people there are some, born to migrant parents, who belong to the second generation. Who are they? The reply given by one of the surveys is as follows: seen by the host society as immigrants because of the colour of their skin, they see themselves neither as natives like the one group, nor as non-natives like the other; they are lost, and they are too young to find an identity [7]. Will they be absorbed, rejected or integrated, with their differences, in a newly pluralist society? ... A study of their situation would no doubt shed light on the future of immigration in general.

Some immigrants are outlaws; others are within the law (on immigration).

Finally, young migrant workers in Europe inevitably invite comparison with those other young migrants, the Europeans from rural areas coming to the towns and foreign migrants who are not "workers" (experts, tourists, businessmen, etc.). A comparison between foreign workers and rural natives suggests that migration is part of an over-all process of social mobility. Comparison of migrant "workers" and migrant "non-workers" suggests that the migration of "workers" is part of an over-all movement of communication among peoples and does not result from the special situation of the worker alone.

Pressures and aspirations

It is also possible to compare young migrant workers with those other international migrants, displaced persons and the willing or unwilling victims of the brain drain.

The migration of workers has its own distinctive features. But a large proportion of international mobility of individuals has one primary cause, similar to that which gave rise to the slave trade in former times: labour, of all the factors of production, is considered the easiest to transport. The true, underlying meaning of this commonplace observation is as follows: the migration of manual and intellectual workers alike demonstrates and confirms the inequalities of today's societies. It implies that we accept unreservedly a logic of economics dominated by a striving after maximum technical and financial efficiency, "maximum" being equated with "optimum". As a result the factors of production are concentrated there where the conditions of maximum efficiency are currently fulfilled (i.e. in technologically advanced societies) while schemes for economic and social progress are uniformly patterned on the dominant societies. No one can claim that this line of reasoning is inconsistent or easily superseded. But it reveals the pressures which are brought to bear on migrant workers and candidates for migration, while migration reveals the price which some people have to pay as a result of such reasoning. Major needs, such as long-standing attachment to places, participation in meaningful work, etc., are no longer satisfied.

Moreover, these needs are not easy to define. They are not self-evident, because they change according to the situation in which people find themselves and the directions which they choose, and according to what is given to them and what they wish for or desire. The young migrant worker sees mobility as a means of satisfying new needs, or a new means of satisfying old needs. Although this mobility is forced upon him, it does not curb his aspirations. It goes one better: it develops them.

> To talk of [illegible]hers is to talk of one [illegible]

Aspirations of young people and aspirations of adults

Not everyone gives the same answer to the question: are young migrant workers radically different from adults? There is no essential difference, says one person; there is a considerable difference, deems another. If it is true that migration sharpens aspirations by exposing the migrant to strong pressures and a new situation, this is particularly so in the case of young people. For them, everything is accentuated: fundamental needs which cry out to be satisfied, desire to fight against restrictions, what is at stake - which is nothing less than their entire [illegible].

The central issue, however, is not how far young migrant workers differ from adult migrant workers. Besides, the answer to this question depends on the frame of reference of the questioner: if he is thinking in terms of a Marxist type of analysis, he will see young adult workers as members of the same social class, which it is unjustifiable and dangerous to oppose; if he is thinking in terms of socio-cultural developments, he will say that young people are more susceptible than adults to deculturation. The point is that migration gives an additional consistency to the relation between young people and adults. Young people and adults form a system which is bursting with energy, each of its components both submitting to and exercising considerable forces. The system may therefore explode if its internal tension reaches breaking point. It is also possible that such disruption will be avoided and the system of young people and adults will remain intact, except that changes spread to all parts of society. In such an event, young people, far from breaking with adults, induce them to change, while nevertheless accepting their influence. Young migrants would thus, directly or indirectly, incite their home societies to build up a synthesis of tradition and modernity.

This hypothesis seems improbable only if one attaches particular weight to observed breakdowns and contradictions when analysing the cultural mobility of migrants and the present relation between tradition and modernity. But this type of realism may be superficial. If we observe relations between two cultures which are on an unequal footing, we readily conclude that there is a relationship of exclusion - as in the days of rampant colonialism, when the white world trampled on the rest. But we should not leap to conclusions. The young migrant worker of the seventies is stronger than the African peasant

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of former times, bludgeoned into submission by the violence of the colonizers. And the use of southern workers by northern countries, immediately after decolonization, creates a reciprocal relationship between the countries concerned which will not stand comparison with the relationship created in the past by soldiers and merchants. As Carmel Camilleri writes: "The events leading up to a crisis (...) capture the attention, but the processes which tend to alleviate it are less obvious (...). The traditionalist and modernist positions (of the old and young) are not to be interpreted as the sharp opposition of two antithetical systems of representation, but as mere differences in their degree of adherence to the single fundamental system that the evolving system to which they both belong seems to represent". (1)

In short, young people and adults are simultaneously drawing together and drawing apart - growing both more and less like one another. The future is not yet a foregone conclusion. The present is an unsettled time, which may precede a crystallization. This is the conclusion of several of the surveys undertaken at Unesco's instigation. They highlight the urgency of the choices to be made [6, 7] and show that there are many young people (immigrants or the children of immigrants) on the threshold of adulthood who do not, or will not, pass through their experience with as little fuss as their parents, who knew that they were the playthings of forces which left them virtually no freedom.

The situation of young migrants and the status granted them by the host society

The West Indian who comes to France says that he has been in the habit of dreaming about it - that country where he is officially, the fellow-citizen of the natives. The Spaniard comes to France as a foreigner, aware of the fact and treated as such. In the case of the Indian who arrives in the United Kingdom, he seems to slip furtively into a society which stops short of oppressing those who are different, but which can scarcely be said to honour them. As for the Turk in the Federal Republic of Germany, as matters stand at present, does he ever do more than pass through? ...

There is a need to draw up a typology of "reception" (we can hardly call it "welcome"), taking into account, on the one hand, the general relations existing between the society of departure and the society of arrival, and, on the other, the special relations which, in every case, are peculiar to the migration itself. The migratory phenomenon would thus reveal its diversity more clearly.

At all events, there is always a strong feeling that the "other" is an alien; the place of the alien in our societies, as these societies really are, as they see themselves and as they wish to be (i.e. in their organization, their self-awareness and their blueprint for the future), is that of someone "other", who is only "other"; therefore, if he becomes numerous, the "other" is seen as a threat; defence mechanisms (or rather, rejection processes) multiply in their turn.

The notion that there is a threshold of tolerance, beyond which a society is in danger of perishing of heterogeneity, is becoming part of the accepted stock of ideas.

Yet no serious study has ever claimed to determine the degree of heterogeneity which any particular society can tolerate. This is scarcely surprising! Such tolerance varies from society to society much more than it varies with the number of immigrants. The threshold of tolerance is merely the expression of the prejudices, tendencies or in-built structures of a society. True, the presence of migrant groups with "different" patterns of behaviour introduces a variable into the host society. But this variable constitutes a threat only to the extent that the society in question is, or believes itself to be, homogeneous and autonomous. However, homogeneity and autonomy are, in reality, problematic notions: in what do they consist? Why is special value attached to them? In what way are they changing? What are their tendencies?

If the number of migrants poses a problem, this is because the host society finds it difficult to tolerate large numbers of those others whom it assumes to be aliens and those aliens whom it takes to be others, and can only do so by organizing their originality out of existence, giving them the marginal status of the alien in order to take advantage of their labour. It is only on this supposition that the so-called threshold of tolerance has any raison d'être. In point of fact the future situation may be wildly different: it may well be that foreigners become less "others" as the result of a relative standardization of cultures; it may also happen that all societies (particularly the dominant industrial societies which "receive" the migrants) organize their identity in a less uniform manner. In that case, the problem to be solved would no longer be that of tolerant reception of another who is irretrievably foreign, but that of remoulding the system of social relations in such a way as to confer on the other a status which would not be that of a complete outsider.

The crisis of tolerance thus calls for a choice. This is needed because migration and the migrant are not only the subject of questions (How can they be used without danger? How can they be kept within bounds? How can one treat them justly

(1) Carmel Camilleri, "Les attitudes et représentation familiales des jeunes dans un pays décolonisé en voie de développement; essai sur le changement socio-culturel dans un pays du Tiers Monde (Tunisie), Les Cahiers de Tunisie)" Vol. 20, No. 77-78.

without soiling one's hands?) but themselves raise questions (You, who are obliged to take in millions of foreigners in order to live, should you not live differently? Should you not frame a new image of yourselves and your future?).

Of all migrant workers who raise such questions, either verbally or through their very existence, young people raise the most.

Migration: a mixture of desire and compulsion

At first sight, nothing could be more remote from today's migrations than those of the early Navetan of the Sahel region of Africa [11]. They were young Wolof working on land belonging to chiefs, whose servitors they were until they married and settled down. But this migration was the start of a tradition which has lasted until the present day.

During the ground-nut boom in Senegal, i.e. from the end of the First World War until the eve of the Second, young Sudanese were urged to emigrate in organized groups to provide Senegal with temporary extra labour. In 1943, when the slogan was "ground-nuts for victory", this urging was even to become an obligation. So these young migrants followed in the footsteps of the Navetan of earlier times. An extremely precise "contract", similar to the former agreements, bound them and the jatigi, responsible for organizing and controlling the migration on the spot. When, in 1956, the circumstances giving rise to this system altered, the peoples with the oldest migratory traditions began to dispatch migrant workers to France, where African ex-servicemen and seamen formed communities able to receive them.

What is the connexion between these three forms of migration, all of which concern young people? Apart from their continuity in time, they have several common features which have been summed up as follows by Mamadou Saliou Balde [11]: "Young people who leave their villages for shorter or longer periods all hope to return some day. Their aim is to find a means of readjusting to social changes and new needs"

In such cases, too, migration is a necessity: the pressures range from the police and forced labour, or the need to find work and food which are not to be had in the village (the example of the Peul of Fouta Djaalon in 1920-1930), to the less radical but nevertheless compelling need to earn enough money to pay the family taxes and marry off the son of the house; finally, there is the need to adapt to a changing society, particularly by participating in the acquisition and consumption of the new commodities which it produces. The ambiguities surrounding the migratory movement clearly stem from its root causes. When the "sheriffs" or hunger are present, migration seems to be pure necessity. But the typically youthful desire to see the world with the consent and blessing of one's elders is every bit as much responsible for migration as are the vital needs of the migrant or the needs of his future employer.

If contemporary migration is placed in the context of a tradition (admittedly a questionable hypothesis), we cannot fail to see that at the origin of the desire to migrate there is a desire for what is "elsewhere" and "other"; a combination of socio-economic circumstances sometimes imparts to this desire the force of a vital need (the migrant needs the other in order to eat); and this vital need may be methodically exploited (the migrant is ill-treated on arrival and nothing is done in his country of origin to make migration less of an enslaving necessity). One might therefore stand the usual argument on its head and, instead of saying that the exploitation of the migrant is the origin and final cause of migration, say that the desire for migration leads to an encounter which is sometimes one thing and sometimes another, sometimes takes the form of mutual assistance and knowledge of the world (as with the Navetan in former times), and sometimes that of enslavement to Pharaoh (as with the victims of rapacious landlords who let out their slum premises to migrants in Europe).

What is new today? It is the explosion of desire in the context of modernity (the modern individual might be defined as a creature of desire). The explosion, with its corollaries: exploitation of the individual's desire by others, and enslavement of the individual to his own desires. Far from being a slave, the early Navetan grew from youth to adulthood in a chief's household, and then returned home. Nowadays, the young African migrant sweeping up snow in Paris is used. The more desire grows (desire to know other people, to add to one's store of possessions and capabilities), the more migration develops, but the more the migrant runs the risk of losing his freedom.

> Young migrants are not only slaves of necessity. They are also men motivated by desire.

Modernity at the heart of aspirations; aspiration at the heart of modernity

The aspirations of young migrants? It might be more correct to say: migration is aspiration. However, in response to this aspiration, modernity opens up a broad highway strewn with obstacles. Neither migration nor modernity will stop advancing. To what does modernity itself aspire? That is the question which the lowly status of contemporary migrants compels us to raise. We are well aware of the fact that the sin of the modern world is to have turned men into

the tools of history, just at a time when history seemed to be holding out a new reason for existence. Modernity has "instrumentalized" individuals, down to their desires and their aspirations: "Aspire to see the wide world, and I will force you to take refuge in a poorly-heated room after a voyage in the hold of a ship. You will grow weary of your own desire. Aspire to possess the trappings of modernity, and I will force you to sell your soul to acquire them". The modern world speculates on desire like an animal-trainer. The hopes and fears of young migrants speak of the urgent need to overthrow the power of the trainers. Unfortunately, those trainers are not only the powers that be. A whole culture is involved.

It seems that we need a new humanism, based on a new science of man, which would be both more receptive and more comprehensive. As someone wrote recently, we must master mastery (i.e. the mastery which man has gained over people and objects). This is indeed the case. We must neither destroy migration, nor destroy migrants (as we are doing today). We must gain control of that modernity which is simultaneously developing migration and corrupting it.

The response to aspirations is not only hospitality

When we are not deliberately racist, we try to calculate our threshold of tolerance to foreigners (we should no doubt be better advised to consider how well we put up with ourselves; one finds others hard to bear as soon as one feels ill-at-ease with oneself). When we do not confine ourselves to such calculations, we talk of assistance, which enables us to keep the migrant in his place among objects (- of pity). And when we are in a good mood we use the word "hospitality". The ancient world knew how to welcome the stranger as a guest. Why should not we do the same? Alas for this noble idea: the world is no longer made up of hosts and guests. Our cultures are no longer those successive, isolated citadels of strength - Roman culture, Arab culture or Chinese culture - which could afford the cautious luxury of making a little room for the stranger on the stone bench beside the fire. Modernity creates a new space, criss-crossed by aspirations which reach to the utmost limits of the world and, in that space, we are all one another's hosts and guests. We no longer find settled hosts who take in passing travellers, but a continuous traffic of people, things and ideas. However, a country and a culture may sometimes receive the representatives of another country and another culture, owing, for example, to certain migrations. The question then arises whether they will behave like hosts, i.e. provide a fitting place for the stranger from elsewhere - whom they see initially as a stranger from elsewhere. But another question also arises, whether he is really a stranger, and really comes from elsewhere. It may be that the other place from which he comes is only relatively speaking another place, enclosed within this modern system of which we repeatedly claim (without accepting the implications) that its outstanding characteristics are the universal spread of "conquests through fundamental research", which has "penetrated to the core of the problems" and "conquered the mental world", and the spontaneous nature and enduring effects of "the communication of models". (1)

If hospitality there must be, let it be the hospitality given to experiences coming from an elsewhere which is yet in the midst of us, betokening the burgeoning newness of the modern world.

> It is not migration which creates the relationship, but the relationship which creates migration.

Complexity of the aspirations

The aspirations are not simple, the surveys carried out by Unesco do not always paint the same picture of that which they call "aspiration", and the readers of this study are not expected to accept the conclusions of the investigators uncritically. To some investigators, the aspirations seem to be merely the expression of unsatisfied needs, and those needs seem easy to define: biological needs, for food, clothing and shelter; social needs, for knowledge of others, recognition, communication, learning, work and love. Against this it may be argued that the satisfaction of needs is not an aspiration but a form of necessity, which may even be imposed by the society that enslaves the subject. We thus get another possible interpretation of aspirations: the sole true aspiration might be defined as the vague and powerful desire to "be" and to "live one's own life" [12]. The first approach leads to an objective description of the aspirations of young people, so objective that it is in danger of losing sight of the particular subject, namely the young migrant, and doing no more than generalize or reflect the a priori views of the observer. The second approach leads to a subjectivist attitude, i.e. consideration of only that part of the subject which does not lend itself to external definition.

In reality, the aspirations of young migrants are the actualization of their will to live in a social situation which is both determined and determining, and which they aim to regenerate (or to overthrow) in order to make room for themselves as individuals.

(1) Edgar Faure, Learning to Be, Preamble, pp. XXII-XXIII, Paris, Unesco-Harrap, 1972.

Characteristic of this social situation, seen from the young migrant's point of view, is the mutual and partly antagonistic relation between two separate societies - a relation which the migrant both reveals and endures; moreover, he is one of those who stand to gain directly if this relation becomes flexible rather than rigid as it is at first.

Decidedly, too many observers know in advance what they will find: universal and basic vital needs to be satisfied. But, if such needs are universal and basic, why is there no move to satisfy them? Why is there a resurgence of slavery, unless it is because the satisfaction of the most elementary needs is incompatible with the system of relations of which migration is both the symptom and the effect, and which these observers do not take the trouble to examine? Other observers see only those aspirations which emerge when migration is placed under the grid of a necessarily reductionist ideology. Thus, for some observers, the young migrant aspires to equitable integration in industrial society; but this claim passes over in silence the changes which the fulfilment of migrants' aspirations would bring about in the entire system built up on the industrial and other forms of society.

Other observers look no further than the mere desire to exist, which takes the place of ambition for so many young people who are dazzled by their entry into a virtually unknown society. Young migrants have more clearly-defined aspirations, as we shall see. But to some extent they share the attitudes of other young people natives of the industrial society, since they share that society with them (unequally, it is true). This observation may have major implications. Young "foreigners" are not as foreign as people are apt to say, and this at a time when respect for differences - belated as it is - is acknowledged to lead the way to progress. Young "foreigners", coming into contact with the young "natives" of Europe, might discover that they are not so much foreigners as young people, bound in fellowship to other young people.

The difficulty of placing aspirations in hierarchical order

The listing and rank-ordering of aspirations presents still further difficulties.

There are conscious, expressed aspirations and there are aspirations which are unconscious and unexpressed. Do not the former inhibit expression of the latter? Perhaps aspirations are organized like the stages of a rocket, some igniting when others have been satisfied. What aspirations will emerge when those currently expressed have run their course? The migration of young people is a beginning, not a transient illness to be cured with a few home remedies.

There are spontaneous aspirations and aspirations which are reinterpreted by the migrant, according to the pattern of thinking which is adopted.

There is the relationship linking aspirations, legal status and rights. The rights granted to migrants by the host society vary according to place, time and category of migrants [5. a]. Moreover, written laws do not coincide with real rights, any more than with current public attitudes [8]. The aspirations of the young migrant collide with public attitudes more than with the law; his aspirations are regulated by such attitudes.

There are aspirations which are actively suppressed by the migrant. Nevertheless, they continue to exist; some day they will surprise us by breaking out.

There is the part which struggle has to play in the process whereby aspirations come to maturity or find expression [7, 11]; often it is the struggle born of, or fomented by, the indifference or hostility of the host society which wakens the migrant to his own aspirations. Since the aspirations of the young migrant are nearly always in conflict with the conduct of that society, migration is entrenchment in a permanent state of conflict.

Conflict also stems from the negative character of certain aspirations, so that they do not so much look to the future as reject the present (e.g. the migrant's situation in his society of origin or his situation in the immigration process). This is an obscure but powerful negative force, disturbing, too, as long as the migrant has not, on the political and personal planes, been able to face up to it and redirect it.

Is the migrant an escapist?

And then, in every migrant, there is an escapist, as there was in the explorer and colonizer of earlier times. He meets other people, but he leaves his home society. The reason he is attracted to the other side of the mountain is, to a greater or lesser extent, that this side repels him. Thus we reach the limits of the rôle which migration may play as a factor relating peoples. The migrant is the agent of an ambiguous relationship - unless he may be said to represent the ambiguity of any relationship. To relate to others is to transcend oneself, abandon self-sufficiency, agree to be changed by those others, and invent with them a new mode of existence. But, if the migrant is destroyed, he will no longer be a man in a relationship, but a zombie. Indeed, no one can deny himself entirely, and few wish to do so. However, let us remember the Africans who were victims of the slave trade. They had been uprooted from their native country and reduced to nothing. Did they establish a relationship between America and Africa? Were they not first of all broken by America?

Since the migrant cannot meet new people without leaving the old, he does not represent the

whole relationship between peoples. In extreme cases, he may even represent an unreal, negative relationship, such as the black slave trade and the wars of conquest, with their prisoners carried off in the galleys of the conqueror. So when the host society pretends to see the migrant as an ambassador from abroad, it may be deliberately deceiving itself. By making the man who has cast himself adrift and is floating between two worlds the representative of its own relationship with other peoples, it may make a show of confronting these, when in reality it is evading them. It will take in the migrant, not as a foreigner representing a foreign people, but as a hybrid, easily muzzled at the very moment that it helps him; the migrant, on the other hand, will talk of his country of origin without realizing that he no longer represents it. In the encounter between them, neither side will show itself as it really is. In order to dispel the illusion, the migrant's country of origin must be an active partner in the relationship.

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II. Their aspirations

Let us take a closer look at the experiences of young migrants as they describe them, and as the surveys have recorded their descriptions.

Before the departure of the young migrant

The time before the departure is of capital importance. Not only because the forces are at work which will determine the migration, but because the initial ideas about it are taking shape in the mind of the future young migrant.

Firstly, although the causes of migration seem to be rational enough (the labour market, the type of job and the need for money), the heads of many young migrants are full of alluring or irresistible images. Some speak of fascination /9/, others of fate /9/ ("Why I came I don't know. Perhaps it was my destiny"), and still others of contagion /8/ ("When I saw the others come back to the village, I left").

Thus necessity assumes attractive shapes, but, in the last analysis, the migrant submits to the force of circumstance more than he dominates it. In this connexion, we may mention the extreme case of the French West Indies, which are legally a part of France, although they are distant and different from it; hence they are influenced by outside cultures, are economically dependent, and have little political responsibility for themselves. Migration is so much taken for granted in relations between France and the West Indies - "Most do not decide to come - they are sent: they are influenced; young people are encouraged to leave", says a young West Indian secretary - that neither the migrant nor the societies involved can afford to turn their backs on it.

The experience of young West Indians is not unique: the same characteristics are to be found everywhere, in an attenuated form. The young migrant worker always comes from a society which has been encompassed by dominant modernity, and yet which remains different, be it more or less outward-looking, more or less dependent, retaining a measure of responsibility or virtually none at all. Migration is, indeed, subservience.

To this should be added another characteristic: those who have already departed bring pressure to bear on those remaining, urging them to leave. This pressure may take the form of words, example-setting or silence. Young Spanish women or West Indians, for example, say that they were able to understand how difficult migration was only when they had experienced it, because those who had gone before had to some extent deceived them: returning home somewhat richer, they had never dared to admit the truth. It should be added that this wall of silence which the migrant erects between himself and his friends and relatives has nowadays been breached by a new political awareness: certain associations of migrant workers and certain States analyse the conditions of migration clearly and publicly.

Hence the conclusion of some young people: nothing prepares them for migration. Although they are in for some rude shocks, nothing is done to strengthen their self-confidence; nor are they taught anything about the encounters they will experience or the people whom they will meet. This goes for all forms of preparation: young Turks do not learn German before leaving for the Federal Republic of Germany, and young Spaniards do not learn French; most migrants do not come from the kind of strong, open-minded societies which would pass on to them a mature experience of relationships. The weakness of the societies from which the young migrants set out is an advantage neither to them personally nor to the host society or the society of origin.

Ultimately, the following paradox arises: there would be no migration if there were no differences and inequalities between two societies which are more or less tightly bound together. However, even before the migrants depart, the difference is treated as something negligible, as if they were moving from one place to another within a virtually homogeneous society. Within

an empire, in short! Although the difference is forgotten at the time of departure, it takes its revenge on arrival: the young migrant very soon discovers that he is strange or foreign; ill-prepared, he does not have a strong enough sense of his own identity to be able to become readily another himself; he is torn apart.

During the migration, the mind of the young migrant will retain the impression which he formed of it before he left. His aspirations on arrival are determined by his aspirations on departure; his failures are the result of his illusions, and his successes are due to any preparation which he has received. If, lured, overwhelmed and carried away, he joined the migration with the illusion that he would easily find freedom and better himself, and if the reality disappoints him, the story of his aspirations will be of one long struggle against deep-seated frustration, soon soured into resentment.

Nevertheless, these aspirations become more sharply defined as time passes, and more elaborate aspirations supplant the blind hopes entertained in the beginning. Every migration has its history, especially in the case of young people, whom it affects at a time of major personal changes.

Aspirations in bondage to transition

Migration means transition from one society to another. A methodical comparison of the society of departure and the society of arrival would reveal the landscape through which aspirations make their way. One of the surveys draws the following parallel, which is valid for all migrants from south to north - i.e. those whom we are considering: it is migration from an inegalitarian and hierarchical society to an egalitarian society (or one which pretends to be so, thereby strengthening the migrant's aspiration towards equality, while holding bitter disappointments in store, since the dominant industrial societies are, in reality, very hierarchical in their way); from a society in which vital needs are often the only needs to be satisfied (and poorly, at that) to a society in which secondary and tertiary needs, new to the migrant, are also satisfied; from a society distinguished by the ties which bind men and women together to a society which exalts the masculine virtues, productivity and power.

Transition exacerbates aspirations. Moreover, the transition may remain incomplete, lose its impetus, become paralysed. Concrete examples abound. Certain ghettoes, "enclosed areas, vast stretches of waste land with no intelligible form of expression" /6/, are no more than transitions which have fallen to the ground like wounded pigeons, perhaps never to rise again.

Thus, the transition is likely to come to a halt and the young migrant may become a man suspended between two worlds, at home nowhere. The leading aspiration of young migrants is therefore not to fail. It is the aspiration to aspire, to move towards a goal, to live a meaningful life. Migration, which is a transition, does not correspond to a fixed social status, but to movement towards a goal. Especially when the migrants are young.

The migrant is not a citizen established as irreducibly different, since he is in transit.

Behind the aspirations: fear

The landscape of aspirations is therefore one of transition. What is its climate?

Observations on this topic are various. Many speak of the "daily drama", of the never-ending difficulty of being different in societies which see difference as a threat. Since they need the migrants, these societies tacitly acknowledge that they cannot be self-sufficient; however, accustomed to an ethic of "self-sufficiency" which is labelled national grandeur or imperial ambition, they do not wish to admit the fact openly. Contempt, regret, refusal and rejection are words which constantly recur. A feeling of failure is remarkably prevalent among young migrants.

Hence the fear, which feeds on itself. He who feels forced or pushed out, withdraws. This withdrawal generates violence. Someone has noted, for example, the violent reaction of young North Africans rejected by a school intended for others /6/. Some are afraid of laws which they consider threatening, especially if they are in an unmistakably illegal position, as are the clandestine immigrants in the United Kingdom /7/. In extreme cases, all aspiration is stifled by fear, leaving only violence, a disorganized aspiration for recognition, an appeal for help: the voice of the pauper crying in the western wilderness.

However, migration sometimes becomes almost commonplace: "Ten or fifteen years ago it was quite an event to leave, but nowadays ..." /9/. Commonplace, but not easy. It is apparent, nevertheless, that migration could cease to be an adventure of dreams and fears and become a recognized social process, treated in all seriousness. But such recognition is still far off: hence the fear. For a long time, the societies which "dispatch" and those which "receive" have been suspiciously reticent. It was not done to talk about migration, although the phenomenon was occurring on a huge scale. Where is the society that dares to ask explicit questions? Instead, the answers are repeated ad nauseam. It will therefore be enough to map out the areas of silence in order to show what history holds in store.

> The young migrant often thinks: what is impossible at home will be possible elsewhere.

The aspiration to mobility

As we have already said, mobility is not the consequence of migration (to migrate is to move), but the object of a typical aspiration among a great many young migrants (to migrate, for them, is to desire movement). Young migrants are not only - or do not see themselves only as - girls and boys who are compelled to move to a different place; they are also - and see themselves as - girls and boys who wish to leave. They aim directly at mobility.

What sort of mobility? Social mobility - attaining a higher level of knowledge, employment and remuneration - combined with geographical and cultural mobility. The two aspirations are linked in various ways. In some cases, the migrant is he who, aspiring to the social mobility denied him by his non-progressive society, must consent to geo-cultural mobility in order to attain it; in other words, he leaves in order to rise up the social ladder. In other cases, the migrant is he who desires primarily to "see the world".

But which part of the world, and why? The modern countries, the countries of idealized modernity. One reads statements like the following: "I want another way of life. I want to be different" /4, 7/. The desired social mobility is to live differently in another society, where the hierarchies are different in kind and meaning, where order itself is "open-ended" and where new commodities and powers are within reach.

This aspiration may mistake its own identity: there may be an individual who aspires to the mobility of modernity, quickly discovers its limits, and returns to take his place in the society of his forefathers. This might entitle us to say that the migrant looks for work only in places where inequality and exploitation enable him to find it, and then goes home. In fact, the young migrant is not merely a lad who goes in search of a little money before returning to grow old alongside his parents. The young migrant issues a challenge to modern society. He asks it to admit him, a foreigner; but he does not direct such a demand at a modern society which he would consider foreign to his society of origin. His journey to the north is a detour which tends to bring him back to his starting-point. His hope is that his own society will begin to move, so that his aspiration to mobility may also be satisfied in his society of origin.

An illusion, perhaps. Young migrants see capabilities in modern parent States which their own inhabitants no longer believe them to possess. But the important point is this: with certain exceptions, it is unrealistic to believe that young migrants, who aspire to social and cultural mobility, will put up with even greater frustrations in the northern society than they experienced at home, or will write off modernity and reinvest their hopes in the old agrarian civilizations.

If modernity is able to arouse those aspirations which send young men outward-bound in their thousands, it must keep its promises or, sooner or later, be brought to book.

To be recognized, but in what capacity?

Young migrant workers - or the majority, at least - are very eager to be free, innovative, creative and autonomous. One may retort: there is no need to be a migrant to cherish such aspirations; or, the young migrant does no more than express what non-migrant young people are expressing all around him.

But the peculiarity of the young migrant is that his aspiration to creative autonomy unfolds in a situation of deculturation and social and cultural marginality which runs violently counter to it. It is therefore expressed with difficulty. In order to be free and creative, he must first be recognized. But recognized as whom? As a foreigner with interesting and distinctive qualities? As a young person like any other? As an individual who is between two worlds (and indeed the migrant is such an individual)? What is desirable and what is possible? The two rarely coincide. To judge by Unesco's surveys, the young migrant aspires first of all to reconcile two rôles, i.e. to be considered as a young migrant worker, established in his cultural originality, and yet perfectly integrated in the different society in which he lives /7/. This is an attempt to square the circle, unless the contradictory aspirations of such an individual constitute stages in a process: initially, he imagines that he can easily become a member like any other of the modern society of the north; he soon changes his tune. He is different, and is made to feel it; integration is an illusion; he is therefore thrown back on his national characteristics and on those like him.

Considered in itself, the young migrant's aspiration to creative autonomy therefore leads to a demand we have already encountered, addressed to the industrial society which takes him in: integrate what is different! Make room for it! ... But the host society recognizes the young migrant's distinctiveness only to reject it or attempt to diminish it.

When the young migrant thus becomes an alien (the Arab in the west, the Turk in the Federal Republic of Germany or the Spaniard in France), he is doubly an alien, so to speak, since he has left his country and is living in societies which seek to remove differences, which do not make room for the foreigner and which pretend that their sulky indifference is really receptiveness and tolerance. So the foreigner is not only pushed back into his foreignness; he must, at the same time, endure being pushed into the background. It is in order to avoid such a situation that the young migrant sometimes flings himself, without a backward glance, into the industrial society which receives him. And thus he loses his way.

So the young migrant's aspiration to creative autonomy is broken down, and is transmuted into either the aspiration to remain himself in a marginalized community (whose marginalization renders it uncreative), or the aspiration to become quite other than what he is (and obviously, he is likely to fail).

Discovery of difference which bears the stamp of inferiority

The difficulty of winning recognition and the uncertainty surrounding the migrant's volatile identity are keenly felt in everyday relationships.

Everyone knows this. Do the surveys reveal anything new? They all highlight the prejudices of the host society, whether it be British, Swiss, Belgian or French, and the prompt discovery of these prejudices by the migrant. But we have seen that the young migrant feeds on illusions. We don't know which dream of a straightforward and unambiguous relationship is entertained by those who have left their country as if they expected the foreign society to be better able to accept them than the society which they have left behind because it had no room for them. They must learn the hard way that elsewhere is similar to here, and that no true "elsewhere" exists.

The discovery of difference is thus nearly always bound up with the discovery of a kind of inferiority, so that the difference seems to be the cause of the inferiority. This inferiority is due either to supposedly inferior social status, or to prejudice which automatically puts the southerner beyond the pale. Not that this inferiority is real, or that the migrant acknowledges it as such, but it marks the failure of his relationship with the north. The growth of defensive racism among migrants is not unknown; nor is the desire to put down one's roots again in a micro-society of migrants. The latter may be a stabilizing factor, but on one condition, namely, that the relationship between this micro-society and the European society as a whole is an open-ended relationship. However, this is seldom the case. The host society does not seek to enter into relationship with micro-societies established on its soil, any more than it does with the individual, isolated migrant.

Some observers note that trade unions, the working class and the socialist countries appear to be more understanding than the average. A number of migrants make the point that racism abates when the educational level rises. Others observe that it increases when migrants are seen as belonging not only to another country, but also to another class. This correlation should be heeded: the relations between the migrant and the host society are dictated by the social status of the former (his class and his situation in the production network)(1) - and the fact that he belongs to a different people serves only to exacerbate the difficulty of these relations [2, 3, 4, 8].

So the unprepared young migrant, a newcomer in an unprepared society, taking up jobs which are considered "inferior" for the sake of the short-term interest of both parties, finds that he is both different and inferior (or seen as such). The ratio of migrants to the total population makes little difference to this situation, so that the existence of a "threshold of tolerance" to foreigners is unproved. Perhaps, on the contrary, migration on a large scale forces the parties involved to take the problem seriously.

A key aspiration: language

Not to speak the language of the country in which one lives is, of course, a handicap; to wish to speak it is a shared aspiration. It is astonishing that so little is done to teach young migrant workers. This fact only goes to show that the host society, like the society from which they come, sees migrants only as a labour force, to be channelled into work demanding the lowest level of technical skill(2). This is a philosophy of very short-term utility; it ignores the meaning of the phenomenon which it claims to understand.

Young migrants are keenly aware of the fact that their ignorance of the local language sets them apart. This is everywhere the case, but especially in countries where unity of language is strongest. It is obvious, however, that they will never speak a foreign language as fluently as their mother tongue. Knowledge of the former does not therefore prevent them from being other, and identifiable as such. It enables them to take part more easily in the host society, but it does not erase the difference, or the problems resulting from it [3, 5].

Important as it is, knowledge of the language of the country in which one is living is not therefore the miracle-drug which would render migration innocuous. Rather, it raises once again the question of the meaning of migration. It increases the short-term usefulness of migration by improving the young worker's output only if he holds a qualified post, at the same time whetting his aspirations. This is probably why literacy training for migrants is looked upon by the powerful technological societies of the west as charitable work, left to a handful of out-of-the-ordinary volunteers. What these societies would like is to use migrants without having to listen to them ... even if their output is a little lower as a result. Hitherto, exploitation of the "reserves" of migrants

(1) Another correlation: the fact that the foreign worker and the native worker belong to the same class may generate competition between them which impedes the relationship.

(2) According to the surveys initiated by Unesco, Sweden is the only country where provision is made for the local language to be taught during working hours.

has been more extensive than intensive. They are subjected to a system of slow rotation. They are quickly exhausted, and then discarded.

It is interesting, moreover, to examine the experience of young migrants who are not ignorant of the language of their place of work (Italians from the south working in the north of Italy or in the Ticino, for example); they are nevertheless perceived as "other", almost as foreigners. This confirms the hypothesis that the migrant is a foreigner, socially as much as culturally. Even if he speaks the language of the country, he is still a "migrant", neither powerful nor knowledgeable. If he were, he would not have left his country. To teach him is therefore not enough, if, at the same time, his social status - or, rather, the organization of the society which employs him - does not change. This is not of course to deny the usefulness of language lessons or forget that not all migrants are second-class workers.

A few important features deserve emphasis: the more ignorant the young migrant is of his own language, and in in his own language, the more arduous will be his struggle to learn to use a foreign language; the younger the migrant, the greater his capacity for knowledge, however, sound knowledge of the local language cuts off the young migrant from his family, where the older people and the women do not share his bilingual ability.

The surveys which provided the raw material for this study did not cover the very young migrants of school age, who go to school in the country to which they migrate(1). However, the choices made by the school, and at school, will be decisive for them and for the little Europeans of France, Belgium or Germany. School is the place where the society with many migrants will decide whether it opts for uniformity or accepts diversity.

Example: the practical aspirations of young Spanish women working in France

To avoid any confusion in our analysis, or in the mind of the reader, let us list, without comment, the practical aspirations of young Spanish working women, as a survey records them:

(a) to have a proper job and plan for the future;

(b) to have normal living conditions, i.e. in particular, decent accommodation and no less free time than other people;

(c) to be trained and informed before departure, so as to be prepared for migration and, if necessary, advised against it;

(d) to have a social life in France; to communicate with the French;

(e) to pursuade the French to be prepared to be "human", and to "understand that Spain is not a Republic of household domestics and that ignorance of the French language is not a moral defect".

These aspirations show what it is like to be on the receiving end of violence. It is urgent that they be satisfied.

Another survey classifies aspirations as follows: first, space; second, money; last, security/10/. But are these aspirations or needs? To tell the truth, the young migrant is in a situation in which his aspirations evaporate into daydreams if his elementary needs are not satisfied. However, even in such needs, traces may be found of young people's central aspiration to mobility and to a new way of life, both individually and collectively. Thus the need for space applies to all forms of space - physical, psychological and cultural; the young migrant needs space in order to be himself. The need for money, which goes beyond the need for bare essentials, has the same significance. So has the need for security against all threats.

Aspiration to accommodation

Accommodation has the power of a symbol: it introduces human relationships into the landscape created by human beings. Now, migrants are not only poorly housed; they are, and are aware of being, housed separately. One cannot but be appalled by the remarks recorded in one of the surveys, such as "When the French pass this way, they say: it's a foreign quarter", "We are herded together deliberately" or "The worst thing is the isolation"/3/. The "segregated" dwellings of migrant workers label them as foreigners; often, they also express the formless character of the marginal society they sometimes constitute. "A closed area, shunned by the neighbours, cut off from the local facilities which define a district and give it its character, the ... estate is like a great piece of waste land, without any intelligible expression: no vegetation, poor or non-existent lighting, pavements and sunken areas used as playgrounds, letter-boxes damaged, rubbish all over the place"/6/(2).

Young migrants are singular in one respect:

(1) We should like to take this opportunity to mention the special issue of the review Terre Entière, entitled "Les enfants de nulle part. Entretiens avec des enfants de travailleurs migrants", ("Children who belong nowhere. Interviews with children of migrant workers"), by Annie Lauran, No. 54, July-August 1972.

(2) How can one fail to see that this disorganization of space is no longer a distinguishing characteristic of certain migrants' quarters, but that other populations tend to occupy ill-defined spaces, whole urban districts lose their identity, many people become foreigners in their own town, and migrant workers are therefore not so much exceptions as symbols? Migrants have no "design for society"/6/. But, if this is the case, is it because they are set apart, or because the town has no design capable of catering for all those who enter its fold?

since they are often unmarried, they are more dependent than adults on hostel accommodation, often provided by the firm for which they work, where isolation is made more acute by a system of internal restrictions; relegated to the fringe of the urban fabric, such hostels are certainly not remarkable for the warm welcome they offer or for easy-going relations between the administration and the residents. When there is no such hostel or home, there is an isolated room, to which the foreigner is often refused admittance (although the surveys reveal a hierarchy of refusals: in France, the North African is more often "refused" than the Portuguese; when choosing between two aliens, one takes the less alien).

The migrant's dwelling is therefore an "interior" without real inwardness. Such a dwelling expresses exclusion, a turning "out". It is an "inside" which seems, paradoxically, to be an "outside", mirroring the condition of the migrant: the further he makes his way inside the host society, the more he finds that he is outside(1).

Young migrants have very lively aspirations with regard to housing. Very concrete, too. Many, nevertheless, seem aware of the fact that accommodation is a sign or a consequence of something else; in other words, that a housing policy for migrants can be only one component in a general migration policy. This does not mean that irregularities in housing could not be avoided by decisive administrative action in regard to sanitary conditions, the quality of accommodation and the area of premises, aimed, at the very least, at applying the laws and regulations in force to migrants in the same way as to other citizens, which is often at present not the case.

Work and money

It seems absurd to talk of aspirations where employment is concerned. Work is more a necessity, a need, whose satisfaction may make it possible to hold fast to the central aspiration: a new life wedded to self-assertion. But work does not have the same meaning and the same characteristics for the young migrant worker as it has for other people.

For a start, the need is more pressing, and the dependence of the young migrant is greater. This fact is highlighted by a Swiss survey [2]. It shows that many young migrants found jobs in Switzerland before 1974; but it reveals a state of necessity which, at other times, may be endured under the threat of unemployment. In Switzerland, in 1970, 61.5 per cent of young male Swiss nationals aged between 15 and 19 were at work, as compared with 71.9 per cent of foreigners of the same age (58.1 per cent and 62.9 per cent for young unmarried women), the corresponding figures being 86.5 per cent and 91.8 per cent for the 20 to 24 age-group (69.2 per cent and 79 per cent for women). Between the ages of 25 and 29 (the child-bearing age for women at home), the difference is less marked for men (95.6 per cent as compared with 97.1 per cent), but more marked for women (44.9 per cent as compared with 70.8 per cent), which confirms the state of necessity and marginality.

In India, on the other hand, there is strong apprehension that young Indian workers (or the children of Indian immigrants) may be used in the United Kingdom as a reserve of cheap labour, more easily condemned to unemployment in an employment crisis [7]. And indeed this function of "regulating" the labour market is manifestly performed by migrant workers, irrespective of age, as many Europeans in positions of authority have blatantly admitted.

As a result, a discrepancy develops between the aspiration to training and career advancement (very strong among young migrants, as long as they have not relapsed into a feeling of failure), on the one hand, and the work really done, on the other.

This discrepancy takes many forms. Since they are obliged to work, young immigrants are not free to undergo vocational training, which is barred to them by a great many obstacles: the linguistic barrier, lack of preparation, and ignorance of the few possibilities open to them [4]; these same young people accept jobs which are inferior, not only to their aspirations, but also to their capabilities or their training.

One point should be clarified: many young people emigrate both because they do not expect to find - or cannot find - a job in their country of origin, and because they expect migration to provide them with better opportunities for vocational advancement. The need to find a job and the aspiration to vocational advancement are connected in a complex manner: some emigrate because they have neither training nor employment; others, who have a minor job, emigrate to obtain training and a better job (unqualified women working as hospital orderlies who aspire to a diploma of assistant nurse, for example); others, finally, have both training and qualifications, but the labour market at home is saturated in the corresponding sector.

Thus the need to work comprises three different aspects: sheer necessity; the desire for socio-vocational mobility and advancement; and the urge to return home with better vocational prospects, emigration having served as an interlude for training.

Similarly, money is both a vital need and the object of complex aspirations, or a means of satisfying those aspirations.

There is the case of those who work only from time to time, in order to earn a little money quickly, and who are immune to any other considerations.

(1) This pattern is borrowed from the analysis by Allal, Buffard, Marig and Reggazola: La Fonction miroir, Grenoble, 1974.

These young migrants are the most serious social misfits, for whom continuity at work is virtually meaningless, because they are merely floating on the surface of society. Money will enable them to find a new place in society, temporarily but effectively, by joining the system of young spenders and leisure-time consumers.

When work is not entirely subordinated to money, the way people use their money reveals their aspirations. Two types of aspirations emerge, which show how divided young migrants are. First, there is the aspiration to self-assertion by sharing in the general standard of living (or what the young migrant considers this to be); it gives rise to ostentatious or futile spending and wastage, i.e. the purchase of "in" clothes and the leisure occupations of the "young set"; once again, the young migrant's aspirations emerge as a blurred carbon copy of the aspirations of the dominant society, and his status as a poor attempt at integration combined with marginalization [10]. Then, there is the aspiration to save money, which expresses the force of the aspiration to return or to improve the living conditions of the family back at home; this worsens the present living conditions of the young person and encourages him to demand the removal of restrictions on international movements of currency [5.a]. Here again we have a form of integration combined with marginalization. But, whereas showy spending is the sign of headlong flight into the host society, the aspiration to save is the sign of a deferred flight back to the society of origin.

More fragmented than elsewhere and more insistently present: the family

The relationships of young migrant workers with their families show widely divergent characteristics. Some live with their families, whereas others have left them behind at home. All seem to have set themselves a little apart from the family. It might appear that their only aspirations with regard to their relatives concern the money which they save in order to send it to them. But this would be a mistake. The family occupies an important place in the system of their aspirations.

Young workers aspire to see their aspirations recognized by their family. The family is the microcosm which nurtures and which takes the consequences of the confused and contradictory aspirations of boys or girls who, having reached the age of twenty, find themselves mid-way between two worlds. The surveys uncover facts which speak for themselves. The traditional rôles of father and mother in the rural Italian family influence young Italian immigrants in Switzerland [2]; young people learn foreign languages more quickly than their parents, and their relations with their parents are thereby affected [5.a]; the greater the threat to the socio-cultural identity of their parents, the greater the danger that young migrants will be relegated to the status of a sub-proletariat [6]; and so on. The nub of the problem is probably the fact that young migrant workers are "the youngest of the young" [10], i.e. the most inclined to desire novelty; but they are also vulnerable, because they are living beyond their means. To be more precise: their situation is so new that they often have not the strength to cope with it; their roots have been cut off or split. For this reason, their personal aspirations tend to combine with aspirations concerning their families. This combination takes many forms:

- The young person's aspiration to be himself while discovering a new life cannot be achieved if his family is not firmly linked to its society of origin. The paradox is merely apparent: only people of strong character can assimilate while still remaining themselves and one should not expect the young migrant who has escaped from a decultured family, and who is living in a fragmented society, to build up a new personality for himself. Unfortunately, membership of a strong culture does not make it any easier for the young migrant to assimilate while remaining himself, when that culture is self-enclosed and cut off from others. The young migrant is in danger of being caught in a trap: either his initial "deculturation" does not prepare him for "acculturation"; or else he is "accultured" to a closed culture and must break out of it violently, and thus become "decultured". In fact, the young migrant, owing to his youth, needs to form part of a movement which sustains him. The young migrant is no more than the advance guard of an encounter between societies, over which he has no control. Adults, societies - these decide what they will do for young people, by those young people.
- Besides this cultural aspect, there is a psychological aspect: several surveys record that the young migrant is in danger of failing when he is unable to identify himself with his father, because the identity of the father has been destroyed(1).
- The family mirrors the conflicts and contradictions through which the young person is living; the relationship between the young person and his parents, be it stormy or relatively harmonious, is, in fact, a "mirror image" of the relationship between his society of origin and the society to which he has been transplanted. The conflict between young people and their parents may become extremely violent, and this may stamp out all the aspirations of young people unless they succeed in reconciling their parental background and their

(1) One might wonder whether this interpretation is not a projection onto traditional extended families of a psychological structure peculiar to the western nuclear family. The varying types of status within the non-western family should no doubt be taken into account where the rôle of the father is concerned.

modern attitudes. As a result, they suffer, and so do their parents. The father drives out his son, because he cannot talk to him; the mother shuts herself away, not through fidelity to custom, as superficial observers claim, but because she is withdrawing into herself.

We cannot, therefore, lightly dismiss the family of the young migrant, although his central aspiration seems to lead him to break away from it. Nowadays, nothing is more flexible and changeable than a family, but the young migrant is the last person to be able to forget his family, precisely because he is personally involved in a process of radical change. It is not a matter of knowing whether he will break away from his family, but of knowing whether his family will break away completely from him, and take with it his origins and his closest links with a particular set of people. The young migrant worker's aspirations include his family, whether he is aware of the fact or not, since he cannot achieve them unless his family also participates in them, in some way.

The special case of girls and very young children

One would expect the aspirations of girls to be both keener and more restrained: keener, because the cultural difference separating the young migrant girl from the south from the host society is greater than that experienced by her male counterpart(1); more restrained, because this difference is bound up with the traditional socio-cultural status of women, typically hedged about with constraints and prohibitions.

The surveys confirm this expectation, at least in part. Thus, many West Indian girls emigrate to France, spurred on by the unemployment to which girls are "conventionally" more vulnerable than boys /9/. The need weighs on them more heavily. Consequently, they aspire more strongly to a change which they suppose will be a liberating one.

All this breeds tension and uncertainty. One survey quotes the example of Algerian girls who have emigrated with their families, and who tend either towards "excessive withdrawal (solitude, traditional black clothes)" or towards "excessive freedom (acting as head of the family, spending time in bars - a position similar to that of a minor in need of care and protection)" /6/. Nevertheless, it emerges that girls claim to be more attached to their cultural background, if not to their country of origin, than boys, and that the desire for change often turns into (qualified) fidelity to tradition. It is difficult to say whether this is a free choice or whether it should be seen as the result of pressure brought to bear on them by men.

At all events, it is quite obvious that the particular case of young women should be made the subject of special studies(2).

It is not our intention to deal with children, except to say that their former circumstances as children - particularly the training which they have received - leave their mark on young migrant workers, and that these effects should be carefully noted.

No training worthy of the name, schools meting out a closed culture which serves no purpose beyond explaining life in the nearby town and vocational training which does not lead to employment - all this is a matter which concerns the country of origin; as we have already said, there are deficiencies in the direct or indirect preparation for migration. But there are also the children of migrants who go to school in the countries where their parents work. Their aspirations are usually precise, and appear to tend towards integration. They want to learn; they suffer when they are rejected by schools which are not designed for them; they react to this rejection with aggressive desocialization, i.e. a corresponding rejection: "You reject me; I reject you"; academic failure may break their spirit forever, though experiments with reception or remedial classes for young foreigners show that academic failure can be avoided.

Thus a vicious circle often begins which continues on into working life: the very young migrant - whatever his place of birth - often wants vocational training, which is usually given to him in mediocre conditions (when he knows where and how to get it, which is not always the case) and which does not always lead to a job. "Legally, there is no discrimination against young migrants resident in Switzerland with regard to education and training. Yet the obstacles are many" /2/. To tell the truth, the opposite would be surprising. A child is both very vulnerable and easily ignored because he is weak. And he is readily ignored because he is a very unwelcome challenge to migration policies.

The aspiration to participation

The aspiration to participate in political responsibilities exists, although the young migrant is obliged to express it cautiously, and although he restrains it in order not to take too many risks. Indeed, it is considered barely acceptable, for the migrant is a foreigner and, since the advent of the nation state in its present form, full civil rights are accorded to nationals alone. In this field, young migrants are more adventurous than older migrants - but this proves nothing except that they have more vitality.

(1) The status of women is one of the issues on which the difference between north and south is greatest.

(2) We refer the reader to the teach-ins of the "Comité medical et médico-social d'aide aux travailleurs migrants" on women's immigration (148, Bd. Masséna, 75013 Paris).

But the aspiration to participation does not begin and end with politics; far from it. If only because they know the political arena to be dangerous ground, most young migrants aspire primarily to the type of relations which sport has to offer /5.a/ (the importance of sport as a sign and cause of identity and communication is often underestimated) or to relations with "natives" of the opposite sex - relations whose meaning is comparable to that of migration itself, and to the meaning which every young migrant gives to his own life-story.

Naturally, the societies concerned do not tend to see migration in terms of increased relations between girls and boys of different cultural backgrounds. The young migrants' reactions are violent: "How do you expect us to meet the girls? We don't even meet the men!" /3/. "The prohibitions surrounding women show a society's true receptivity", as the same survey report justly observes, thereby pointing a reminder that marriage, which is a fact of social life based on the prohibition of incest, reveals that sociability begins with recognition of the matrimonial exchange obligation. It would therefore be naïve to take it for granted that the "socialization" of the young foreign migrant by the host society usually begins with a sexual relationship, and especially with marriage, which signifies a thoroughgoing acceptance of exchange with the alien society. The possibility of sexual relationships also varies significantly according to the supposed cultural proximity of the migrant: "French girls go out with Portuguese, Spaniards and blacks, but they regard Arabs as they would regard a dog" /3/(1).

In order to express and satisfy their aspiration to political responsibility proper, the main channel open to young migrants is trade unionism: certain surveys reveal that they are very active, or even militant, members of trade unions. But these same surveys cast a shadow of doubt on this point, and lead one to suppose that reality does not necessarily match up to the wishes of those concerned. Some accounts even mention that young Indian migrant workers complain of the hostility of British trade unions. It seems that class solidarity does not iron out national or cultural antagonisms.

A fair conclusion seems to be that the young migrant aspires to civic participation, that this aspiration is hampered because it conflicts with his status as a foreigner, that it is also sharpened by the migrant's need to defend his rights - for which scant respect is shown - but that he hesitates between civic participation specifically by and on behalf of migrants and participation in joint movements and institutions. What form, indeed, should young migrant's civic participation in the host society take when such participation, by enabling them to become politically active, inaugurates the process whereby they will help to determine their as yet indeterminate future?

The example of the district advisory boards for immigrants in Belgium is well known; so is the participation of migrants in a national migrants' advisory committee in the Netherlands /4/. Those responsible for launching these ventures seem to be aiming at the integration of migrants into the host society. It is not clear that the young migrants share this aim. But their participation in these official bodies reveals their existence and their distinctive character, a revelation which current immigration policies often try to prevent, although they do not oppose migration itself.

A survey report /19/ observes that, masquerading as an offer of participation, there is often a patronizing, "poor relief" attitude seeking to perpetuate itself. In short, participation is passive. However, young migrants do not, as a rule, want patronage or "relief", although, in their difficult situation, they cannot always refuse. This shows that the value of the possibilities for organized action extended to migrants depends solely on how the natives define migration policy. However, the aspiration of the young migrant to political participation gains in clarity as his experience develops. He then seeks to organize his experience and to work at changing it.

But he remains uncertain about which path to take, and finds no way out of his conflict-ridden situation - differences between the everyday ways of life and the age-old histories of the migrant and the native, conflicts of interest, class conflicts, etc. Some surveys also reveal the existence of conflicts among the migrants themselves, who have different cultures and who are sometimes rivals for the same goals.

This (relative) split among migrant workers contrasts with the (relative) solidarity of foreign workers with "rich" foreigners, both the object of the host society's suspicion. In Switzerland /5.a/ and elsewhere, foreign labour and foreign capital are equal targets for criticism. This phenomenon corresponds to a development of the criticism levelled at the migrant by the host society. People no longer say: they are taking our jobs or disrupting our work (a claim which it is difficult to maintain at a time of relatively full employment, except - and this is important - from the point of view of the native worker whose qualifications are equal to those of the migrant). They say: they are corrupting our identity. At this level of suspicion, the host society no longer worries about the migrant worker alone, but about anything at all which comes from elsewhere(2).

(1) Apparently, societies in the Western Christian tradition harbour special prohibitions concerning Arabs - who are, moreover, sometimes Berbers. A study on this matter would be worthwhile.

(2) It would be interesting to compare criticism of migrant workers and criticism of anything new, in order to discover how far the former has distinguishing features which set it apart.

It is therefore natural that young migrants, whose future is at stake, should realize that much more is involved than their short-term social and vocational interests and a compensatory arrangement between the financial, technical and intellectual capital of the north and the labour force of the south; the issue is that of a new world order, a new order of people and cultures which includes but at the same time goes beyond the economic domain.

So, among young migrants, one finds an aspiration to give expression to conflicts and to what is at stake in them, in order to prevent their situation from being ignored and misrepresented. Self-effacement, indeed, does not pay, and young migrants no longer feel that it is possible to reach a solution by making discreet arrangements with their closest partners: employers, social services - and the police.

> Without a doubt, the young migrant has aspirations. But above all, he <u>is</u> aspiration.

To aspire to a new culture and to achieve a sub-culture

For some observers, young migrant workers share the aspirations of all young people of today, who see themselves as different from adults and who wish to create a different society. From a logical point of view, moreover, young migrant workers should be the spearhead of this "young people's revolution" [4]. Are they not seemingly the most eager for a new state of affairs, which alone would justify their migration? Are they not seemingly, in the country where they work, free from all ties, even if not free from all constraints?

However, not all the surveys bear out this somewhat abstract line of reasoning: far from it. Admittedly, our material is not very plentiful, and closer examination is needed. Yet these surveys leave us with the impression that young migrant workers are torn apart rather than liberated, pulled in several directions rather than motivated by one aspiration, and more inclined to fumble than to forge something new; rather than being on the point of creating a new culture, it seems that they are suffering from their inability to achieve their aspirations in that regard. They are suffering from their inability to make that culture a reality, but also from their inability to express it - to express it to themselves. When, in order to wear a turban, Sikhs refuse to wear the crash-helmet which is compulsory for all motor cyclists under British law, what is one to make of this conjunction of the motor cycle and the turban? [7]. That a synthesis of tradition and modernity is fortunately taking shape, or that the migrant is constrained to settle for a penny instead of a pound, exerting himself over details and letting the major issues go by default?

It should be recalled that, for many young people, migration means that their culture of origin is obliged to come to terms with the outside world, but without having yet faced it squarely. The young migrant is like the water which splashes out of a water-skin when somebody kicks it. He is, so to speak, driven out, and in the host country he will seldom find a way of settling down again in another culture. He will therefore be simultaneously a foreigner and a proleterian, either a minor industrial wage-earner or a minor office-worker. Everything contrives to place him in a situation which bears the mark of a dependent sub-culture, triply branded with the characteristics of youth, foreignness and unskilled work, as it were perchance a "culture of poverty".

It emerges from the surveys that many young migrants - perhaps the majority - in the end aspire to return home [2]. One cannot fail to be struck by a coincidence: on the one hand, this tendency, and, on the other, the host society's constantly renewed offer of integration and nothing else. Knowing no respect for differences, and apparently even unaware of what such respect might amount to, they can do no more than send back to their original difference many of these young migrants whom they claim to wish to integrate, but whom they cannot - or only rarely - fit into their homogeneous structure. One observer notes the hidden suffering of young migrants who <u>seem</u> to be integrated in the host society, but whose roots are bleeding [3].

However, the young migrant cannot put the clock back. Between his departure and his return, both he and his society of origin have changed. As for the host society, it too, is changed, having necessarily absorbed from those with whom it has been in contact a little of what makes them different.

At the risk of over-simplifying the development of an aspiration, we venture to say that when departing young migrants are not sufficiently "encultured" in their original culture, which is often over-receptive in some ways and unreceptive in others, they aspire to a change which appears to them clad in the trappings of a partly attractive, partly compelling western modernity. This modernity offers them integration, which is merely a euphemism for the proposal to make use of their work, and which is all the more apt to send them back to their origins (thus negating the purpose of migration) in that the best they can do is to create a sub-culture, and sink into marginalization through loss of strength. However, the fact that migration is experienced as a sort of failure (or does not culminate in the hoped-for new culture) does not mean that its consequences are nil. The migrants may be

disappointed "and yet they move" and cause movement in the host society.

At this point, a key fact emerges: it is possible to chart the course of young migrants' aspirations. The young migrant - because he is young and because he is a migrant - goes towards something else. This is the thought already expressed in the phrase "The young migrant is aspiration". But this is a difficult position in which to live. One cannot be only aspiration: in the end, one either goes astray or loses one's impetus. To go astray is to become a permanent cultural and social hybrid - a situation tolerable only to exceptional individuals who have chosen it. To lose one's impetus is to settle down in a society and a culture. But so far, the central aspiration of young migrants - to become other, yet still themselves - has proved unattainable in any of the societies or cultures involved.

Is the aspiration to return home the key to migration?

Nevertheless, there are young migrants who, from the outset, aspire to return, and for whom the aspiration to return does not seem to be a sign of failure, but the goal or end of migration. This is true of young West Indians who come to France in order to obtain vocational training more easily or to find a job which may be the first rung on the ladder to a "career" which will end in the West Indies ("We come to France to get a situation with good prospects")/9/. The fact that this plan often fails, that France does not keep the promises which it seemed to make in day-dreams, and that more than one young West Indian goes home without daring to relate what he has seen, makes no difference: they left in order to return. This is also the case of young Spanish women in domestic employment: "Their course is charted in advance" says a survey report/8/. In France, they seek, or perform, the kind of work which they consider to be a necessary stage in their working life, whose final stages will unfold in Spain, in better conditions, theoretically, than if they had never left. Another survey report generalizes as follows: "There are very few workers who do not cherish the hope or the firm intention of returning some day to their country, in improved circumstances"/4/. Some even claim that their sojourn abroad will have equipped them more effectively (vocational training and a grounding in trade unionism and politics) to "do a lot for their country"/3/.

The aspiration to return is one which best reveals the ambiguity or uncertainty of migration which we have already observed in studying the joint rôles of necessity and desire, the aspiration to socio-vocational mobility and the aspiration to socio-cultural mobility. The extreme cases shed light on this aspect of the problem: on the one hand, there are migrants who leave only to improve their socio-vocational status before returning home (we have just quoted some of these); on the other, there are those who leave with the sole aim of discarding the old world and finding a new one (such as those young North Africans whose failures do not prevent them from refusing to return to the country of their birth/6/ - which, moreover, does not always want them back). However, the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes.

When we consider the young migrant's aspiration to a new culture, we find that he often ends up with a marginal, shakey sub-culture and disillusioned, returns to his native country, because his culture of origin does not give him sufficient support and because the host culture is prepared to accept him only in terms of an impossible integration(1). In other words, these terms are contradictory, the contradiction stemming from the economy with its structurally uneven distribution of the factors of production and the fruits of production.

When, on the other hand, we consider the migrant's aspiration to return, we find that this return, in its intention and very nature, is quite other than a retreat. The other society is like the cushion of the billiard table, off which the ball must bounce in order to strike the other balls to maximum effect. The migrant makes a detour among others in order to return to himself, and his individual life-story is only a question addressed to the two societies on which he depends. Having asked the host society whether it will change in order to offer him not just any place but a place where he can be himself, he asks his society of origin whether it will change in order to offer him a place together with the acquisitions which he has brought back from his journey. This request, which involves him personally, with all his suffering, desires and doubts, exposes a social reality which, were it not for him, would remain concealed: modernization has systematically exploited those on the periphery for the benefit of those in the centre, but it has been unable to prevent a relationship from growing up between the periphery and the centre the future course of which cannot be based either on remarginalization of the former colonies, since this, for the migrant, would entail an impossible return to square one at the end of his migration, or on reassertion of the personality of the former colonizers, since what is here being offered him is an equally impossible integration.

(1) Impossible, because it rests on the assumption that all cultures may be standardized through modernization, and because those who make play with integration, either implicitly or explicitly, do not give migrants the means of achieving it.

III. Outcome of the analysis

The quest for the underlying logic

Our attempt to disclose the definitive logic behind migration will not be without its pitfalls, but nor is it without motives.

There are pitfalls since, for want of adequate investigations, we are likely to build up ar a priori logic.

But there are also reasons for our quest: a "mosaic" pattern of revealed aspirations would be useless. It is necessary to structure the history of the aspirations (where do they come from? where are they going?), to sketch in their background and their causes and to clarify the questions to which they give rise.

The immediate cause of the migration of non-European workers to Europe (we shall see later how young people differ from other migrants) is the unequal distribution of the factors of production; this inequality is due partly to accidental causes, partly to a natural tendency towards concentration of the factors of production and partly to a deliberate policy which expresses the interests of the dominant classes and nations. Given this inequality, importation and exportation of labour is a virtually unavoidable consequence.

It is hardly possible to feel entirely happy about the natural tendency to concentration from which migration results. This tendency has been accentuated by the unprecedented technical and economic growth of the industrial societies; it culminates in such glaring contradictions that its technical, socio-cultural and political causes are called in question. Such calling in question affects simultaneously the societies which attract migrants and those which send them.

The unequal concentration of the means of production is not the only cause of migration. Another chain of factors combines with it, those relating to mobility. Not only the socio-vocational mobility of the unemployed worker, obliged to move around in the labour market according to the work available, but a form of socio-cultural mobility which is the object of a positive aspiration and seems to be a traditional form of behaviour.

This traditional behaviour has educational value, although - or because - it is not unconnected with economic necessities. The laborious journey to another, comparatively remote, country has always been seen as a useful or necessary stage in the process which leads a young person from adolescence to confirmed adulthood and marriage. Young people have always been encouraged to seek work elsewhere, in conditions which ensure that their temporary exile will also promote social exchange (the labour and goods of one society in exchange for the goods and currency of another) and balance (between two economies whose labour needs differ, either temporarily or permanently).

There is therefore a traditional aspiration to migration on the part of young workers, and a tradition of migration. What modernity has done is to make the characteristic features of this aspiration and this tradition much more pronounced.

> There are voices, voices.
> Listen, my heart, as in times past only
>
> saints listened (...)
>
> True, it is strange no longer to live on earth,
>
> no longer to keep those customs which one has scarcely had time to learn (...)
>
> But the living, they all commit the error of differentiating too clearly.
>
> R.-M. RILKE, "Duino Elegies" I.

Traditional migration is, in fact, migration to a society whose specific character is not so marked as to render it radically different from others. This was true of the Navetan of Senegal or of the apprentice making his grand tour of France. Modern migration, on the other hand, is migration to a society which is really other, and whose otherness has, paradoxically, already shown itself in the migrant's society of origin.

It is an alien society, particularly in the sense that mobility in space and time is such a powerful unwritten rule there that individuals who cannot get away from it are bound to suffer from it and wonder about it - mobility of individuals, expanding communications, the birth of needs which it is possible (and therefore desirable) to satisfy ... Modernity is the nearness of elsewhere, transition become the norm, tomorrow already here today, not only from a speculative point of view (the speculation of the man in the street seems to incline rather towards permanence and what comes down from the past), but from a practical point of view, as borne out by the mobility of consumption, vocational mobility and the mobility of knowledge. The migration of young workers from the south is therefore, partly but genuinely, as their aspirations show, active mobilization with a view to taking part in a society of mobility. For them, migration is a means of adapting to a kind of modernity which is close enough to exert an attraction, but too remote, spatially and culturally, for them to be able to encounter it without making the journey(1).

This modern society therefore imposes its laws on the members of other societies, who are obliged to migrate in order to work, and draws them into the workings of its socio-cultural mobility. But modernity, in its present state, does not keep its promises. The integration held out as bait to the young migrant is only an illusion, all the more deceptive in that it appears a priori to be the answer to his prayers. Modern society integrates the young migrant by marginalizing him; it integrates him as an accessory. This failure results from the combined effects of economic structures and cultural and political structures: the migrants represent an unskilled labour force, supplied by people who are culturally ill-prepared to settle down in modernity and are looked upon as foreigners by the national authorities who take them in. When we add that, for young people, their youth is both a strength and a weakness, we arrive at a complete picture of the migrant's vulnerability, of how easily he can end up by being ground to dust.

All in all, it therefore seems rash to claim, as some do, that migration is a historical accident which will disappear with its immediate cause, the unequal concentration of the factors of production - i.e. with the birth of modern industrial nations where only agrarian, traditional and dependent societies existed before. To say this is by no means to underestimate the exploitation and domination of certain peoples by others, factors which so strongly determine present-day migration. On the contrary, if one has no other design for migrants than to make use of their work - i.e. if one interprets migration superficially - then one multiplies cases of individual failure and is reduced to seeing no other solution than the end of migration, some day when the economic forces are distributed differently among the countries which, today, receive the migrants and those which, today, supply them. In other words, northern society's design for migrants would amount to no more than keeping them out. After a more or less gruelling odyssey, the migrant would go home and resume his "otherness". Like Christopher Colombus. Yes, indeed, but the voyages of Christopher Colombus changed the face of the world.

To tell the truth, the migrant and migration are not the outcome of a set of circumstances, but one component in a structure. They are not only the results of pressure; they reveal an aspiration which is not new and which modernity is bringing to a head, the aspiration to jump on the band wagon of mobility, that mobility which is typified by the modern concept of history.

A society which supplies migrants is, on account of that very fact, involved in a mobility which is made all the more conspicuous by its contrast with what used to happen in the past, when the foreign societies to which the migrants travelled were counterparts of the societies which they were leaving. Such a society is already, itself, partly mobilized by the relative proximity of modernity. In other words, the initial mobility (the departure of the migrants) is geared to a structural mobility (that of modernity) which manifests itself simultaneously in the industrial society which receives the migrants, in the existence of intense relationships between that society and the society which supplies them and in the internal mobilization of the supplier society.

(1) Mark A. Tessler ("Le concept de modernité au miroir des sciences sociales", Cultures et développement Louvain, No. 4, 1973) vividly describes modernity as "being open and receptive to new influences ... a mobile personality ... an inquiring spirit ... mastery of nature ... the search for fresh information ... representation of the world as one vast stage ... three major areas of interest: choice (questions have no set answers), change (things can be different) and receptivity (to fresh information); all this is directed towards decision-making ... and does not require the wholesale negation of everything which tradition has prescribed ... but calls for the realization that there are alternatives".

This sequence of reasoning consequently brings us up against modernity and its ambivalence. In the situation of which the migrants are a symptom, this modernity is currently experienced as inequality, constraint and exploitation, i.e. personal suffering and social malfunctioning. But it is also that mobility known as history, which regenerates men and societies and to which they never cease to aspire, even while they suffer from the break with their past and their entry into an uncertain future.

Migration is that mobility - a population going from one society to another - and it is an introduction to that mobility - a "traditional" population going into a "modern" society, a "traditional society" inaugurating its modernization. Hence, modernity is the subject which migration leads us to consider: modernity as it appears in the organization of various individual societies, those of the north and those of the south, and in the relationships linking these individual societies (the emergent universalism).

However, the south-north migration, as we know it, will certainly come to an end. When? How? The deliberate superficiality with which migration is treated by the "combination of circumstances" explanation does not only result in worse suffering for the migrants; it also glosses over questions about the future of migration. How, indeed, can one give serious consideration to the future of a phenomenon when one's eyes are closed to its solid reality in the present?

In the medium term, the choice is between the following alternatives: either a restoration of the balance of north-south relationships, or the perpetuation by force of domination of the south by the north. The first hypothesis seems the more probable: if it were brought about, it would rid the migration of workers of many characteristics which we see in it today, not to say most of the reasons put forward to justify it. But the end of that type of migration would obviously not bring exchanges to a standstill. There would, on the contrary, be an increase in the number of exchanges among societies which had been internally transformed by their modernization.

Thus, migrants are both challengers of modernity as we live it today, and heralds of modernity as it will be lived tomorrow. Migrants do not aspire to become mere cogs in our productivist social machine which, since it is too highly organized with regard to what is uncertain and too uncertain with regard to knowledge and power, is able to command neither the internal life of national societies, nor international society. This machinery crushes them, because its strict coherence allows only a marginal place to the weak and maladjusted. Let us not mask reality with fine sentiments: we shall not give a worthy place to migrants unless we remake the modern social machinery, whether it be national or international. The migrants' present lot is accordingly one factor in determining the future pattern of social mechanisms.

The nations cannot possibly turn their backs on each other if they wish to continue to advance along the path of modernity, and modernity cannot possibly remain what it is if it is to accommodate this relationship between nations. The current practice of south-north migration calls for the development of a theory and practice of relationships among individuals and groups within a given society or within the world society.

From time immemorial, man's quest for his own identity has always led him out to meet others. However, modernity seems to be carrying us towards a general relativization of all men and all cultures. Does it not suggest a different way of being an individual or a nation? Migrants have the quality of a symbol. They are both the victims of power and a sign of its limits. The quest for power in all its forms - political, economic, cultural or social - breeds a slave-trade in human beings. But, if the nations enter into a reciprocal relationship, power is no longer a sufficient answer.

Obviously, young migrant workers are more heavily involved than their elders in this logic. They are, certainly, the most mobile and the most eager for novelty, but they are also the most vulnerable, owing to their malleability. They therefore find themselves in the thick of the conflicts and contradictions which we have just mentioned; it is they who are in the greatest danger of being destroyed by a foreign modernity which they can neither master nor reject. We cannot expect them to have unusual creative gifts. Young migrants, because they are young, are more ready to accept the changes wrought by time; but their youth does not last. What is more, they are likely to be merely the powerless representatives of change in a rigid society which is reluctant to become more flexible. It would therefore be dangerous to set them apart on the pretext of understanding them better. By dealing directly with the aspirations of young migrants, one is led, on the contrary, to deal thoroughly with migration as a whole, treating it as a lasting phenomenon whose short-term implications must not mask its long-term implications or vice versa, as a problem of society rather than a social problem, as a complex phenomenon whose analysis in terms of labour enslaved to capital is not enough to account for it entirely, although it does account for it in part.

Migration is cruel, although it holds great promise. But the promise is not unconditional: it calls for choices. The logic which we have just outlined is not a linear logic, but a branching logic. It is not possible to deduce the form of a society from a study of migration. When one has recorded the facts, one must take sides. Now, it is possible to opt for introversion, a rejection

of relationships and a rejection of modernity, disguised as some kind of virtuous traditionalism. However, we believe that our surveys point to the conclusion that serious consideration of migration and of the personal trials of young migrants should swing the choice in favour of a development of modernity, so that the modernization of the world may become general and not restricted, egalitarian and not unequal, pluralist and varied and not cast in a single mould, oriented towards the production of men and cultures by their own efforts and not only towards the reproduction of goods by men ...

This detour in the course of which we have examined the aspirations of young migrants therefore takes us back to some of the profoundest aspirations of all people of all nations in the world today.

IV. Proposals

The following proposals are not intended to constitute a programme. Instead of a list, which would have been tedious owing to its length, we have chosen to propose a few meaningful courses of action based on the observations which we have made. These proposals are grouped in five categories, corresponding to five types of observation. They do not all fall within Unesco's purview. Many of them are matters to be dealt with by States, nations or other public and private communities.

Before formulating these proposals, we should like to make one final observation: those responsible for the surveys on which our work is based were not required to make practical proposals. However, they did sometimes attempt to do so. What is striking in such cases is the feebleness of these proposals: irreproachable social objectives (employment, housing, equal rights, mutual respect, etc.) are put forward, without any indications as to the "how" and the "why". The more the proposed objectives are presented as self-evident in the name of simple humanity, the more difficult they appear to attain. One feels inclined to ask: since these objectives are self-evident, how is it that they have been ignored for so many years? For it is not enough to say that "they" are not doing enough. In fact, "they" are doing the opposite to that which is commonly declared to be justice.

The answer is easy to discover: elementary social objectives can be no more than particular applications of a general policy, which is itself based on an over-all interpretation of migration and sustained by active determination. But where is there such a policy, such an interpretation and such determination? Nowhere, or very nearly, unless one dignifies by the name of policy the uncontrolled harvesting of human sinews and brawn. The only attempt at a complete interpretation is the Marxist one. Even that is not free from over-simplifications, which weaken the credibility of its premises.

If we continue to stifle the questions to which migration gives rise, we shall exacerbate to the breaking point the contradiction between the beliefs of the industrial societies and their way of life, and between the aspirations of the migrants and the extent to which those aspirations are satisfied.

Our proposals therefore have a dual aim: to attempt to place migration in its true context and give it its true meaning, and to try to meet the rightful aspirations of young migrant workers.

1. FROM IGNORANCE OF THE FACTS TO KNOWLEDGE AND REVELATION

If the results of the calculations which we have outlined are to be believed(1), the number of young migrant workers in Europe is enormous, both in absolute figures and in comparison with the total number of migrants: six to ten times the population of Luxembourg, between one-quarter and one-fifth of the Belgian population, and slightly less than the population of the city of Paris. So it is of prime importance to take these data into account, since it is clearly impossible to work out a line of conduct without paying heed to the facts behind it.

Our first proposals will therefore be elementary, namely to:

carry out a systematic analysis of the statistical material collected by individual nations or international organizations, European or world wide, with a view to bringing out, with precision and in all its complexity, the numerical situation with regard to the migration of young workers (periodical national census taking might be organized to facilitate this task);

fill in the gaps in the existing material by ad hoc surveys, and, in particular, outline a typology of reception(2);

(1) See above: I. Little known facts.

(2) See above: I. The situation of young migrants and the status granted them by the host society.

list the obstacles to the collection and dissemination of facts and figures;

make proper arrangements to circulate these facts and figures among the public at large and all the groups concerned, whether public or private (such facts and figures should under no circumstances be monopolized by the public authorities).

2. FROM UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE MEANING AND DEVELOPMENT OF MIGRATION TO SELF-REVELATION ON THE PART OF YOUNG MIGRANTS, THEIR RECOGNITION ON THE PART OF THEIR HOSTS AND THE NECESSITY FOR POLITICAL CHOICES

It is impossible to foresee the future of migration. However, it is necessary to attempt to do so. Theoretically, three futures are possible: (a) a continuation of the present system, with the "reserves of labour" moving further away as the peoples of the south become capable of employing their population (in ten years time, Black Africa will probably take the place of North Africa and the Middle and Far East that of the Near East); (b) the reserves of manpower will all dry up and the north will learn to live without using other countries as colonies to exploit - a prospect made possible by progress in technology and productivity; everyone will go home; we shall exchange nothing except goods, the bad memories left behind by colonial pseudo-universalism and the new wave of micro-nationalisms giving people from different lands little encouragement to come together; (c) the migration of workers will prove to have been a transient phenomenon in the interrelationships of peoples and cultures; such interrelationships will gain steadily in intensity and extent while exchanges of individuals will no longer follow the sad pattern of Pharaoh's labourers dragging themselves to the foot of his pyramids: "It was cold; it was November. Nearby, there was a restaurant; I went in to get warm. On a table there were some croissants in a basket. I ordered a coffee, in Portuguese, because I did not speak French; I ate all the croissants - I was so hungry. As I did not know the price, I took my purse and held it out to the woman for her to take the right money. She was so surprised she did not take anything". (1)

An uncertain future and three hypotheses. What is certain is that Europe believes it has found the right answer when it makes the three-pronged offer typical of the user of foreign labour: reception, employment and adaptation. Reception, i.e. opening of the frontiers (but is it reception or utilization?). Employment, but what kind of employment and with how much security? Adaptation, i.e. the right and the means granted to the "other" to slip into the host society, while his differences are sufficiently effaced for his marginal presence to be tolerated by the natives (but adaptation is not innocent when it aims merely at making the migrant usable). This three-pronged solution is deceptive; it is only a means of attending to the most pressing things first, without losing face.

The tables must be turned. The uncertainty of the future must be countered with vigorous choices. Nothing is certain? Then almost everything is possible. But among the various alternatives which possibility to choose - that is the question. This migration, which is still poorly understood, can be turned to good account. Undoubtedly, any choice will be something of a gamble. But failure to choose breeds decay. The choice will have the same breadth of implication as the question raised. The migration of young workers is a question raised for the two societies concerned. What are therefore needed are political choices which will affect the future of these societies; the conclusions with regard to migration will be drawn accordingly.

Our proposals are the following:

A. Since the uncertainty of the future makes it necessary to adopt a responsible stance, and since the implications and the complexity of what is at stake make it necessary to refrain from deciding one way or the other on an a priori basis, it must be made possible for young migrants to express themselves, giving expression to what they are and what they wish to be. Taboos prevent the host societies from hearing them. But a world of difference lies between this state of affairs and the decision that public opinion does not want to listen to them. When they so wish, the powers that be know how to disseminate the views that suit their purposes, and how to make their choices seem self-evident. Where young migrant workers are concerned, the problem again arises of the "mass media" and their ties with the ideologies and forces at work in every society.

To make this self-revelation on the part of young migrants possible, we shall put forward three proposals:

participation of young migrants in decisions which concern them, in either statutory or ad hoc bodies (e.g. town councils or district migrant boards);

methodical learning by young migrants of the local language at their place of work (or nearby) during legal working hours;

participation of young migrants in radio and television broadcasts, provided they do not appear in them as messengers from another world, but are shown as actors on the national stage; such a result is easily achieved if one decides, for example, to have young migrants take part in programmes about housing, rather than to arrange programmes about the housing of young migrants.

(1) Manuel Vaz Dias, Cri d'un immigré, Paris, Ed. Ouvrières, 1974.

B. However, it is not enough for young migrants to voice their opinion in order to be understood. In addition, the host society must declare its recognition of them, i.e. it must make public its willingness to enter into new relationships with them, educate its own members and prepare for the internal changes which will make such new relationships possible (all this should, of course, be done without replacing a particularistic demagogy by an altruistic demagogy).

Three lines of action:

attitudes adopted by the State;

life-long education, making use of all available means; ranging from school to television, with peak periods (specialized campaigns) and continuous forms of activity;

regeneration of received opinion regarding uniformity as the alleged prerequisite for a society's salvation, by inculcating, in theory and practice, the concepts of pluralism and relativity, i.e. by constructive criticism of conceptions of the nation which have become too restrictive for the present day and age.

C. Thus we see emerging long-term political choices, based on the idea that the migration of workers is a precarious form of lasting relationship. These choices are, obviously, the choices of each individual nation, but many nations, if not all, will be called upon to make them. It would therefore be advisable to organize international or transnational activities designed to clarify the nature of such choices, bring them to fruition and give them expression. One might, for example, contemplate one or more pilot experiments for encounters between young migrant workers and young European workers, with a view to drawing conclusions in regard to the pattern of communication engendered by migration, i.e. actual encounters at shop-floor or comparable level.

3. FROM THE RIFT BETWEEN THE COUNTRY WHICH SUPPLIES THE MIGRANTS AND THE HOST COUNTRY TO THE PRACTICAL DISCOVERY THAT MIGRATION LINKS THESE TWO COUNTRIES

One cannot fail to be struck by the fact of millions of young people crossing from one country to another, yet this migration establishes nothing more than a commercial relationship between the two countries - a superficial exchange relationship corresponding to the presumed neutrality of the "object" exchanged - a relationship in which the partners themselves are not personally involved. For this manner of proceeding to be acceptable, the migrant must obviously be regarded as a relatively homogeneous material commodity. The fact that he is not a relatively homogeneous material commodity means that migration cannot work, and suffering is the sign of its malfunctioning. The only way to make it work is to take practical steps to acknowledge the profound reciprocal relationship which it sets up between the two societies concerned.

Everything depends on the ability of those two societies to raise jointly the question: what is the future of these young men and women? But this question can be raised seriously only if those societies agree simultaneously to raise the question of their own future and to ask themselves what influence the young migrants will have on it and what kind of place that future will have to offer the young migrants when they have become adult.

Our proposals in this connexion are as follows:

A. Concerning departure:

to take into consideration the young migrant's situation before his departure; that situation is neglected precisely because his country of origin and the host country do not view migration as placing any joint obligations on them (one receives, the other dispatches, but neither looks ahead).

It might be possible for example:

to organize departure in such a way that the candidate for migration is not at the mercy of his country's red tape;

to prepare for departure, on a short- and medium-term basis, by acquainting the future migrant with the situation which he will find and the rights which will be his, and by providing him with some means of facing up to that situation and exercising those rights (a grounding in the language, for example).

B. Concerning return:

to take into consideration the former young migrant's return; our study has shown that, although the migrant's return is sometimes the sign of his failure, it is sometimes, too, the culmination of his success and a sign that his initial aspirations have been fulfilled. The return of the former young migrant cannot therefore be viewed purely as the recovery of a castaway. On the contrary, the migration of young people must be given its true meaning: a detour through another country leading to reinstatement in the country of one's birth. To prepare for the return means to provide special preparation in Europe for the young migrant, such as vocational training of practical use (it is not easy to reconcile the needs of the two societies concerned, but the general objective might be to help young migrants in Europe to make the transition from semi-skilled to skilled work); above all, it means enabling the young migrant to find his feet in the changing situation in Europe and, by asserting himself instead of destroying himself, to become fit to find his feet again at home, remaining faithful to his background but at the same time playing the part of an innovator.

C. At international level:

These tasks call for international instruments, not mere inter-State arrangements. We therefore

propose the establishment of joint bilateral or multilateral para-state bodies, in the framework of which the social, economic and cultural authorities concerned - and not only specialized civil servants - would together consider migration and the relations which it creates between these two societies.

4. FROM RELIEF AND SHORT-TERM ACTIVITIES TO LONG-TERM ACTION AND OVER-ALL DESIGNS FOR THE FUTURE

Relief is always degrading; it turns the migrant into an object; it sets the seal on his failure, even if it preserves him from total disaster (how did the idea develop that migration would not be a failure if the migrants merely succeeded in staying alive?) Relief is destructive if it does not enable the young migrant to satisfy his aspirations.

And yet it is incredible that no attempt should be made to attend to housing, health and all the deficiencies which are technically easy to overcome. The central deficiencies are often expressed in terms of rights. It is proclaimed that young migrants must enjoy the same rights as the natives and really exercise those rights. A proclaimed right does not always correspond to a right in practice.

And there lies the difficulty. The point is not to maintain an equal balance between short-term assistance or relief and long-term projects. It is to acknowledge the fact that it is impossible to satisfy the simplest aspirations without a coherent design for the future, dealing comprehensively with migration and how it is intended to develop.

In the absence of such a design, we are left with pious hopes: we shall have to change the housing regulations; we shall have to hope that native girls fall in love with young migrants; we shall have to proclaim that the natives are racist, etc. All this changes nothing, or very little. These wishes, which pretend to be realistic, are mere evasions. In fact, we are putting the cart before the horse. We expect the host society to recognize migrants and to declare itself receptive to differences, whereas in fact its own design for the future consists chiefly in implacable defence of its former identity, as it conceives it subjectively or in dreams.

From the point of view of the economic structures and underlying aims of society, such a design for the future is clearly not good enough. To forget this would be another form of evasion.

Our proposals in this connexion are the following:

instead of falling into legalism by issuing some kind of "declaration of the rights of young migrants", to study methodically the cases of non-enforcement of migrants' recognized rights, and their causes, and also to publish such studies and deduce from them what is needed to make the necessary improvements;

before, during and after migration, to do everything possible to inform young migrants about their rights and the opportunities open to them, since experience has shown that they are often unaware of them, and so do not take advantage of them;

to set up cultural centres in the host countries which would be neither annexes to migrant ghettos, nor new colonial exhibitions for Europeans in search of the exotic, but places where the current experience of young migrants might be made intelligible to others by revealing its relationship to the two societies concerned (there is no lack of materials, men or techniques of expression for such a purpose);

to persuade the highest national authorities and directorates of international organizations to state that it is both necessary and possible to work out a comprehensive design for the future which will be capable of making migration meaningful in relation to the two societies concerned, so that short-term activities may become steps leading up to such a design instead of serving as mere household remedies for progressive diseases.

5. FROM PANIC REACTIONS TO AWARENESS OF HIDDEN OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PRESENT

The present weighs heavily on us. The migration of young people has reached an unprecedented scale. It is no longer marginal. It is a crucial challenge to societies of both north and south. There is a very real danger that violence may break out, so misunderstood and ill-controlled is the phenomenon. Such violence may be overt or hidden, and may be started by either side, if migration continues to develop chaotically or if migration and young migrants are trapped by an economic crisis. We do not know what will happen, but we may be sure that something is going to happen.

Will that something necessarily be failure? Migration is not a threat. What appears to be a threat today may tomorrow be seen as an opportunity. In fact, the only serious threat would be our inability to take advantage of what occurs.

To use random events in order to usher in something new: this is a good definition of the policy we recommend (all too often the emergence of anything new, however insignificant, is treated merely as a sensational random event). In other words, "migration", however it has come about, must be used to usher in a new system of relations among peoples.

Our final proposal will therefore be the following:

to see the present crisis of migration as a time

of transition; to know that what is possible today will perhaps no longer be possible tomorrow; and to make migration one of the main themes dealt with in the over-all negotiation which the peoples of north and south seem anxious to enter into, in order to work out a less incoherent world order; for, if migration is properly understood, it can help such a negotiation to succeed, in the same way as such a negotiation can contribute to the successful migration of those young people who will be the adults of tomorrow.

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(1) The reader will notice that most of these documents were published prior to the "energy crisis" through which many industrialized countries are now passing. The repercussions of this crisis have not, therefore, been taken into consideration in this study.

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